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DADABHAI NAOROJI

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CAREER

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DADABHAI NAOROJI.

INTRODUCTORY.

PROBABLY very few of the present generation have seen Mr. Naoroji, and yet his name is one to conjure with throughout the length and breadth of this country. In the words of the late Mr. Gokhale: "Mr. Naoroji has attained in the hearts of millions of his countrymen, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy, and which in this character is more like the influence which great teachers of humanity have exercised on those whose thoughts and hopes and lives they have lifted to a higher plane." The life of such a man—"one of the most perfect examples of the highest type of patriotism that any country has ever produced," is, therefore, full of lessons to all Indians who take a real interest in the progress and development of their Motherland.

EARLY LIFE.

Dadabhai Naoroji was born in the city of Bombay on the 4th of September 1825 in a

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Parsi priestly family. He lost his father when only four years old, but his mother made up for this and brought him up with great care. Helped by her brother, she gave him the best education then available in Bombay. He became a scholar of the Elphinstone Institution (now the Elphinstone College) and had a brilliant academic career, carrying off most of the prizes awarded to the best students. By 1845 his studies were finished. Sir Erskine Perry, the then Chief Justice of Bombay, and President of the Board of Education, was so much struck by the young man's intelligence, capacity and knowledge, that he proposed to send him to England to qualify himself for the Bar, and offered to pay half the expenses if the members of Dadabhai's community would find the other half; but the proposal fell through, as the Parsi elders feared that Dadabhai might become a convert to Christianity in England—two or three conversions of Parsis having taken place a little before, causing the greatest consternation in the Zoroastrian community, which in matters of religion is as orthodox as the Jewish. Dadabhai narrowly missed entering the Bombay Government service as a clerk in the Secretariat, but secured the post of Native Head Assistant at the Elphinstone Institution. In 1850 he was appointed Assistant Professor

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of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the same institution, and later on acted as Professor. In this latter post he was confirmed in 1854. This was a great honour to him, as he was the first Indian to be appointed professor in the country. Dadabhai fully justified his appointment, but did not hold it long. He resigned it in 1856, and proceeded to England to manage the business of the great Parsi firm of Cama & Co., then newly started in London, of which he was a partner.

SERVICES TO BOMBAY.

Dadabhai's life between 1845, when he finished his studies, and 1856, when he left for England, was an eventful one, marked by his wonted energy and selfless devotion. His activities covered a very wide range. With the help of Principal Patton, he organised the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, which still exists. A journal, known, as the *Students' Literary Miscellany*, was started in connection with the Society, and Dadabhai was one of the most diligent contributors to it. He started branches of the Society under the name of the Dnyan Prasarak Mandali for discussions in the Gujarati and Marathi languages, and delivered lectures himself under the auspices of the Gujarati Dhyan Prasarak Mandali. To

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Dadabhai Bombay owed her first girls' schools, which were opened amidst much opposition. At one of the meetings of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, a stirring paper on the advantages of female education was read by a gentleman named Behramji Ghandi; and Professor Patton, who presided, urged upon the members the duty of their taking active steps in the matter. Led by Dadabhai, a number of the members opened classes in various parts of Bombay, and taught them themselves during their spare hours. These classes subsequently developed into the Students' Literary and Scientific Societies' Marathi and Parsi Girls' Schools. The Marathi Schools still exist under the auspices of the Society, but the Parsi Schools were taken up by the Zarthasti Girls' School Association, one of which was later on endowed by the late Mr. S. S. Bengali, a co-adjutor of Dadabhai in all his efforts at social reform among the Parsis. Dadabhai was thus one of the pioneers of female education in Bombay. He also took an active part in establishing the Bombay Association, the Framji Institute, the Irani Fund, the Parsi Gymnasium, the Widow Marriage Association, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1851 he started the *Rast Goftar* (Truth-Teller) as a Gujarati weekly and organ of the advanced and progressive views held by

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himself and other young men at the time, and edited it himself for two years with such able colleagues as Messrs. Naoroji Furdoonji, Jehanghir Burjorji Wacha and S. S. Bengali. This period of his life was thus full of activity, and Mr. Naoroji looked back upon it, "with pride and pleasure; with the satisfaction of a duty performed."

INDIANS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. Naoroji's political activity began soon after he had set foot on English soil, and continued unabated to the end. Almost the first subject that attracted his attention was the employment of natives of India in the Indian Civil Service. In 1855 the old system of nominations to this service was abolished, and the present one of recruitment by open competition was adopted instead. Among the candidates who offered themselves at the first competition was an Indian, Mr. R. H. Wadia, the scion of a distinguished Parsi family of master-builders. The Civil Service Commissioners objected to admitting Wadia, on a technical ground, regarding limit of age—a point altogether doubtful. This led to a correspondence between them and the rejected candidate. Mr. Naoroji, who was in London at the time, took up Wadia's cause and fought, with the support of Mr. John Bright, for the relaxation of the age-rule in

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his case. He did not succeed, but this led him to take up the larger question of the desirability of holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service. He opened correspondence on the subject with the Council of India and secured the sympathy of as many as four of its members. One of them minuted to the effect that our rulers were giving a promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. But the majority were against him. Mr. Naoroji, however, did not give up the fight. With his characteristic perseverance he kept on agitating the matter, until, in 1893, the House of Commons, by a majority, declared itself in favour of simultaneous examinations.

EDUCATING THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

Shortly after going to England in 1855, he found that there was much ignorance in that country regarding India, its people and its government, and it struck him that it would be of great advantage to India, if the English people were educated as to their responsibilities as rulers of India. For this purpose he started, with the co-operation of the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, the London Indian Society which, in spite of a chequered career, continues to exist to this day. Later, Mr. Naoroji started a larger Association, known as the East India Association, which was to

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admit not only Indians, but all who were interested in the welfare of India. He collected donations and endowments for the purpose from some Indian Princes and Chiefs, and placed that organisation on a sound financial footing. Amongst the donors were the Gaekwar, the Holkar, the Scindia, the Rao Cutch, etc. In the early years of its existence this Association did much useful work in the direction of disseminating sound and progressive views on Indian questions, and the volumes of its journal of that period contain much valuable material on Indian politics and economics. Many a retired Governor, like Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Bartle Frere, and other broad-minded and sympathetic Anglo-Indian officials used to read papers and carry on discussions. Both W. C. Bonnerji and Sir P. M. Mehta read useful papers, the former on Hindu Law, and the latter on Education. Mr. Dadabhai read many. The late Mr. Robert Knight contributed a most exhaustive paper on Indian finances and other reforms. There were also papers on Self-Government, in which the well-known Counsel of Bombay, the late Mr. Anstey, took an active part. Mr. Naoroji travelled about the country, addressing meetings on Indian questions, wrote largely to the press, encouraged many to read papers before learned societies with a view to correct

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popular European fallacies, regarding India, and corresponded with the Secretary of State for India.

FAILURE OF HIS FIRM IN LONDON.

In 1866 Mr. Naoroji, who had separated in 1862 from the firm of the Camas and started one of his own, failed in attempting to befriend a Hindu gentleman and save him from bankruptcy. But the reputation that Naoroji had acquired for honesty and integrity in business stood him in good stead; so that when he placed his affairs unreservedly before his creditors, they sympathised with him and showed him much consideration. The Governor of the Bank of England—one of the creditors—wrote to him personally and complimented him on his remarkable honesty. With the help of loans from some friends and through the kindness of his creditors, he managed to escape from his financial difficulties and returned to Bombay in 1869.

BACK TO BOMBAY.

His services to the cause of India, during his stay in England, were so highly valued that, on his return, a grand demonstration was promoted in his honour by the citizens of Bombay, at the instance of Sir P. M. Mehta, and at a large and representative meeting of all classes, an address and a hand-

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some purse were presented to him, and his portrait was taken. Mr. Naoroji did not utilise any of this money for his private purposes, but spent it all on useful public objects. The Portrait Fund was kept apart earning interest till, in December 1900, the portrait was prepared and unveiled in the Framji Cowasji Institute under the presidency of the late Mr. Ranade, who made a most eloquent and instructive speech, his last public utterance, delivered a few days before his sudden and premature death.

THE FAWCETT COMMITTEE.

Mr. Naoroji soon after returned to England to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance, known as the Fawcett Committee. The most important point which Mr. Naoroji sought to establish before the Committee was the great poverty of India and the very high incidence of taxation in the country. This subject may be said to be the special study of Mr. Naoroji. When in his evidence before the Committee he stated that the average income per head in British India was so low as Rs. 20, he provoked only a smile and brought on himself the wrath of many Anglo-Indian officials. A bitter controversy followed but Mr. Naoroji courageously continued the agitation. In 1873 he issued, in pamphlet form, his facts

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and figures on the subject, calling it the "Poverty of India," and seven years later he revised the brochure and amplified it, calling it the "Condition of India." Several years later, he had the satisfaction to find his views practically accepted by the Government of India's Finance Minister, Sir E. Baring, (later Lord Cromer,) who declared, as a result of official investigation, that the average income per head in British India was only Rs. 27 per annum. Mr. Naoroji also drew the attention of the Fawcett Committee to several defects in British Indian administration, among which were its extravagant cost, the enormous annual drain of India's wealth into England, and the iniquitable treatment of the natives of the country in regard to the higher offices in the administration.

DEWANSHIP OF BARODA.

Mr. Naoroji returned to India in 1874, having been appointed Dewan of the Baroda State, which was then in a chaotic condition owing to the mal-administration of its ruler—Mulhar Rao Gaekwar. Mr. Naoroji had no easy task before him. He had a real Augean stable to clean, and in this difficult work he was hampered not a little by the unsympathetic attitude of the British Resident—Colonel Phayre—and the intrigues of the corrupt state officials who till then had had their

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way entirely. But with his usual persistence, Mr. Naoroji worked steadily on with the able and efficient staff he had requisitioned from Bombay, and though he was Dewan for less than two years, he succeeded in completely reforming the administration and in putting down corruption, which had been rampant in the administration of civil and criminal justice. As to his differences with Colonel Phayre, Mr. Dadabhai had the satisfaction to see his conduct successfully vindicated by Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State.

ACTIVITIES IN BOMBAY.

After resigning his office as Dewan of Baroda, Mr. Naoroji returned to Bombay, and stayed there for some years, serving, meanwhile, his native city as a member of the Municipal Corporation. Being depressed by the repressive and reactionary administration of Lord Lytton, he had for a time kept a retired life. With a change in the Viceroyalty he returned to public life. He entered the Corporation again and continued to be in it till 1885, during which period he rendered valuable service which that body recognized in the form of a resolution on its records. In the latter year he was invited by Lord Reay, the then Governor of Bombay, to accept a seat on the Bombay Legislative Council. He did not, however, remain long on the Council,

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as early in 1886 he left for England with the idea of getting into the British Parliament and fighting the cause of his native country there. But before his departure he took part in the inauguration of the Indian National Congress which held its first sitting in Bombay in December 1885.

ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT.

When Mr. Naoroji went to England in 1886, that country was in the throes of a General Election, and though he succeeded in getting himself accepted as the Liberal candidate by the electors of Holborn, he failed to win the seat, as the principal issue fought out was the question of granting Home Rule to Ireland, and public opinion on this was against Mr. Gladstone, who proposed to grant the concession. Mr. Naoroji, however, managed to poll 1,950 votes against his opponent's 3,651, a very creditable result when it is remembered that Mr. Naoroji lay under the double disadvantage of being a 'black man' and a Liberal. In spite of his defeat, Mr. Naoroji continued to stay in England, giving his attention to the interests of India, and redoubling his efforts to persuade a metropolitan constituency to return him to Parliament at the next election. Towards the close of the year, however, Mr. Naoroji returned to India to preside over the

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second sitting of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta. In January 1887, he gave very valuable evidence before the Public Service Commission (itself the result of his own active agitation), and shortly after, left for England to renew his efforts to get into the British Parliament. After five years' hard work he succeeded, being returned by the electors of Central Finsbury as a Liberal Member at the General Election held in 1892. All India congratulated him on this unique honour, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Naoroji's success paved the way for the return, a few years later, by a London constituency, of another Parsi as its Parliamentary representative.

MAIDEN SPEECH.

On the 9th August 1892, Mr. Naoroji made his maiden speech in the House of Commons, during the debate on the Address to the Queen, which produced a favourable impression. We make no apology for reproducing it in full below:—

It may be considered rather rash and unwise on my part to stand before this House so immediately after my admission here; and my only excuse is that I am under a certain necessity to do so. My election for an English constituency is a unique event. For the first time during more than a century of settled British rule, an Indian is admitted into the House as a member for an English constituency. That, as I have said, is a unique event in the history of India,

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and, I may also venture to say, in the history of the British Empire. I desire to say a few words in analysis of this great and wonderful phenomenon. The spirit of the British rule, the instinct of British justice and generosity, from the very commencement, when they seriously took the matter of Indian policy into their hands about the beginning of this century, decided that India was to be governed on the lines of British freedom and justice. Steps were taken without any hesitation to introduce Western education, civilisation, and political institutions in that country; and the result was that, aided by a noble and grand language in which the youth of that country began to be educated, a great movement of political life—I may say new life—was infused into that country which had been decaying for centuries. The British rulers of the country endowed it with all their own most important privileges. A few days ago, Sir, you demanded from the Throne the privileges which belong to the people, including freedom of speech, for which they fought and shed their blood. That freedom of speech you have given to us, and it enables Indians to stand before you and represent in clear and open language any desire they have felt. By conferring those privileges you have prepared for this final result of an Indian standing before you in this House, becoming a member of the great Imperial Parliament of the British Empire, and being able to express his views openly and fearlessly before you. The glory and credit of this great event—by which India is thrilled from one end to the other—of the new life, the joy, the ecstasy of India at the present moment, are all your own; it is the spirit of British institutions and the love of justice and freedom in British instincts which has produced this extraordinary result, and I stand here in the name of India to thank the British people that they have made it at all possible for an Indian to occupy this position, and to speak freely in the English language of any grievance which India may be suffering under, with the conviction that though he stands alone, with only one vote, whenever he is able to bring forward any aspiration

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and is supported by just and proper reasons, he will find a large number of other members from both sides of the House ready to support him and give him the justice he asks. This is the conviction which permeates the whole thinking and educated classes of India. It is that conviction that enables us to work on, day after day, without dismay, for the removal of a grievance. The question now being discussed before the House will come up from time to time in practical shape, and I shall then be able to express my humble views upon them as a representative of the English constituency of Central Finsbury. I do not intend to enter into them now. Central Finsbury has earned the everlasting gratitude of the millions of India, and has made itself famous in the history of the British Empire, by electing an Indian to represent it. Its name will never be forgotten by India. This event has strengthened the British power and the loyalty and attachment of India to it ten times more than the sending out of one hundred thousand European soldiers would have done. The moral force to which the right honourable gentleman, the member for Midlothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), referred is the golden link by which India is held by the British power. So long as India is satisfied with the justice and honour of Britain, so long will her Indian Empire last, and I have not the least doubt that, though our progress may be slow and we may at times meet with disappointments, if we persevere, whatever justice we ask in reason we shall get. I thank you, Sir, for allowing me to say these few words and the House for so indulgently listening to me, and I hope that the connection between England and India—which forms five-sixths of the British Empire—may continue long with benefit to both countries. There will be certain Indian questions, principally of administration, which I shall have to lay before the House, and I am quite sure that when they are brought forward they will be fairly considered, and, if reasonable, amended to our satisfaction.

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SERVICES IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Naoroji's first effort as member of Parliament was to interest British members in Indian affairs, and, with the aid of Sir William Wedderburn and the late Mr. W. S. Caine, he succeeded in organising the Indian Parliamentary Committee, which, for many years, rendered very valuable and substantial service to this country. In the year following his election, he got Mr. Herbert Paul to move the famous resolution about holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service, and though it was opposed by the Government, it was passed by a majority of the House. The credit for this success was mostly due to Mr. Naoroji.

PRESIDENT OF THE LAHORE CONGRESS.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Naoroji came out to India to preside over the ninth session of the Congress held at Lahore. His journey from Bombay to Lahore was a regular triumphal progress, a right royal welcome being accorded to him at every station at which the train stopped. On his return journey the citizens of Allahabad presented him an address of welcome. Great was the enthusiasm at Lahore. They would not allow the horses to draw Mr. Naoroji's

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carriage, but had it dragged to the President's camp by bands of earnest young men. Accounts of these incidents, wired from India, filled the columns of the British newspapers, and that great friend of India—the late Sir William Hunter—summed up his views on the situation in one of his notable articles in the *Times* on "Indian Affairs," in the following brilliant passage:—

> The enthusiasm with which the President of this year's Congress has been received in India was very striking. Mr. Naoroji is not only the first Indian gentleman who has ever been elected to Parliament, he is also an example of an early career of high promise being overshadowed by long frustrations in middle life and realised after unwearied perseverance in advanced age. The brilliant young student and Professor of Elphinstone College, who left Bombay to seek his fortunes in England in 1855, was received back last month, bowed with the weight of 68 years and of a great family sorrow. He had a welcome on landing such as has only on one occasion been rivalled even by a Viceregal ovation. His reception at Lahore has, perhaps, not been surpassed since the days of Ranjit Singh. It is for him and his colleagues to direct wisely the new influence which the Congress party has acquired in the House of Commons and the Indian Legislative Councils.

The 'sorrow' referred to was the death of his only son.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE WELBY COMMISSION.

The most substantial result of Mr. Naoroji's short Parliamentary career was the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1896, of which Mr. Naoroji

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himself was a member. Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. W. S. Caine were two of his colleagues. Mr. Naoroji also gave evidence as a witness before this very Commission in 1897, generally known as the Welby Commission, from its being presided over by Lord Welby, and submitted a number of statements which showed his thorough grasp and wide knowledge of the complicated problems of Indian finance and politics. The following is a summary prepared by himself of his contentions in his evidence before the Commission :—

I have handed in to the Commission six printed statements. These statements contain the facts, figures and authorities upon which I rely, and I am prepared to be cross-examined upon them.

The headings under which my evidence falls are—(*a*) The Administration of Expenditure. (*b*) The Apportionment of Charges. (*c*) Practical Remedies. Upon each of these headings I am prepared to state categorically my most important contentions on behalf of India.

I consider that the Act of 1833, confirmed by the pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, conferred upon Indians a right to their full claim and share of public employments and emoluments and voice in their own expenditure, in order to secure their happiness and prosperity, and good government and attachment to British rule and the prosperity of the British people themselves.

I maintain that the administration of Indian expenditure is not conducted according to the principles thus laid down, and that the non-fulfilment of these pledges has produced poverty and degradation ; the inherent and essential defect of British administration being the financial, political and intellectual drain, which is inseparable from a remote, foreign

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dominion exercised in disregard of the sound principles above stated.

In my six statements I set forth the facts of India's poverty, as shown by the comparative production and consumption of each province, by calculating the average production of India per head; by analysing the trade returns; and by reference to the small amount of revenue obtained after exhausting all sources of taxation.

I maintain that the improverishment and degradation of British India has been caused by the compulsory employment of costly foreign official agencies and foreign capital (represented by the public debt, political and commercial) beyond the means of the tax-payer, resulting in a drain from British India, financial, political and intellectual, aggravated by heavy Imperial war expenditure beyond the frontier, and that indirectly the foreign dominion has caused a further drain by creating a practical monopoly in favour of foreign private capital, which reaps the advantage of British India's material resources.

My propositions are:

That it is the desire of the British people that British rule should be one of justice and righteousness for the benefit of both India and Britain, and not for the benefit of Britain only, to the detriment of India, and that the financial relations in apportionment of charges should be as those between two partners and not as those between master and slave.

That upon this equitable basis the apportionment or expenditure in which Britain and India are jointly interested should be according to the extent of the interest and according to the capacity to pay.

That the creation and maintenance of British Imperial supremacy in India is a British interest of the first magnitude; yet, with a few exceptions, India has been unjustly charged with the whole cost of creating and maintaining the British Imperial supremacy without Britain paying any portion, and without India being allowed to share in the advantages connected with that supremacy.

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That law and order are beneficial to India, but they are also a British interest, as a condition essential to the very existence and prosperity of British rule.

That, assuming, as it is said, that India should bear all those charges for internal and external protection which she would have to bear if British rule did not exist, she should not bear the special cost of European agency so far as used solely to maintain British supremacy. And, moreover, that if British rule did not exist, every one employed will be an Indian and not an European.

That as a practical arrangement Britain should pay for all British employed in Britain, that India should pay for all Indians employed in India, and that, as regards British employed in India, and Indians employed in Britain, there should be an equitable apportionment according to respective benefit and capacity to pay. To put it still more moderately, the payments to Europeans in both countries may be divided half-and-half between Britain and India.

That in the Army, Navy and Civil Services, public employment, with its advantages and emoluments, should be proportioned to the charge; and, in considering this point, it should be borne in mind that in India Government employment monopolises in great parts the sphere of private enterprise and the open professions practised in Britain.

That the wars carried on beyond the Indian frontier of 1858 are, as stated by Lord Salisbury, "an indivisible part of a great Imperial question," and that, therefore, the cost should primarily be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, India contributing a fair share on account of, and in proportion to, indirect and incidental benefits accruing to her, and direct share in the services.

That from April, 1882, to March, 1891, nearly Rs. 139 millions were spent from Indian revenues beyond the western and north-western frontiers of India, for avowedly Imperial purposes, and that a fair share of this amount should be refunded from the Imperial Exchequer, and similarly for the cost of the Burmese War.

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Since putting in my statements I have obtained further figures showing the amounts spent from Indian revenues upon military operations beyond the frontiers of India. Colonel H. B. Hanna, in book No. 3. "Backwards or Forwards," gives at page 40 a table, and makes the total about Rs. 7,14,500,000, out of which the British Exchequer paid about £5,000,000, towards the expenses of the Afghan War. Besides this amount, he points out several omissions. I may put in this table, with his remarks thereon, in Chapter III.

The principle I approve is that which was declared by the Duke of Devonshire, who said: "If the country is to be better governed, that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the natives in the Service; and as pointed out by Sir W. W. Hunter, "If we are to govern the people of India efficiently and cheaply, we must govern them by means of themselves, and pay for the administration at the market rates of native labour." An administration conducted on these principles will stop the material, political and intellectual drain from India.

In the case of Mysore State this method was adopted by Lords Salisbury and Iddesleigh, "as a guarantee for the good government of the people, and for the security of British rights and interest." This experiment, though disapproved by the Anglo-Indian authorities, was loyally and effectively carried out by them, and proved a brilliant success, resulting in a contented people a full treasury, moral and material progress, and attachment to British supremacy. It is a brilliant episode in British Indian History.

Similary, British India will be prosperous and contented if the same principles are followed, local administration being entrusted to competent native officials under European control co-operating with representative assemblies.

I gladly recognise the benefits of British rule, especially as regards law and order, education, and freedom of the press and public meetings; but I believe that British power and influence are much

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weakened by the refusal to administer expenditure in a way so as to give the people justice and a voice in their own affairs, by the consequent "extreme poverty" of the masses, and by the non-fulfilment of the solemn pledges, given by Parliament and the Crown, of equal opportunity in the public service to all subjects of Her Majesty; and sincerely desire to see British rule strengthened on the lines most beneficial to the people, both of India and of Britain.

I desire to put in my correspondence with the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Civil Service Commissioners. In this I claim that neither the War Office nor the Admiralty had any authority or power to exclude Indians from the commissioned ranks.*

FAILURE TO GET INTO PARLIAMENT.

In 1895 the Liberals had to resign, and the General Election which followed placed their opponents in power. Mr. Naoroji failed to get into Parliament owing to the unpopularity of the party with whom he had indentified himself. Mr. Naoroji, however, was by no means depressed by his defeat, as will be seen from the message he sent to his countrymen through the columns of the *India* newspaper. We print the message in full below:—

I have had nearly half a century of varied public and private life—political, social, educational, commercial, administrative, etc,—and I have had, like every human effort, my successes and failures. But I have, I may say, never been either unduly elated by

* For the full text of all the six printed statements placed by Mr. Dadabhai before the Welby Commission, refer to "Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji." Second edition. Price Rs. 3. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

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any success, or depressed by any failure. In such a general wreck of the Liberal party I have suffered as one of them. But the only policy upon which I have acted through life—the policy of "Go on, with patience and preseverance," whether successful or unsuccessful in any good cause—is the one upon which I shall act now as ever before. As long as I have the health and opportunity of serving my country, I shall continue to do so. This is the last work of my life, and I intend to go on with it. I mean, therefore, to try to get into the House of Commons again, as it is there that the battles of the grievances and necessary reforms of India and the stability of the British Empire have to be fought. The good of India is the good of the British Empire. The Indian question is of far wider importance than merely the interests of India. It is the question of the very existence, stability and continuance of the British Empire. As my views on this great subject have been made public at various times, and will have to be expressed yet many a time more on suitable occassions, I need not repeat them here, beyond saying that vast and powerful forces are working and growing in India. If the statesmen of the day do not direct them to the promotion of the interests of the Empire, producing satisfaction and prosperity among the people, they cannot and should not expect that these forces will not go against the British rule and end in some disaster. My humble efforts have always been, and will continue to be, directed to avert this calamity as far as an individual's efforts can go. My countrymen in India need not be in any way discouraged by my defeat. The interest in Indian affairs has been gradually but surely (though slowly) increasing among the British people, and I shall always cherish the hope that the British people will some time see that their true interest consists in promoting the interests, contentment and prosperity of India, and not in persisting in the present unnatural policy which is gradually leading to the discontentment and continuous poverty of India.

His defeat was regarded in India as almost a national calamity.

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The *Times of India* wrote as follows about it :—

We cannot regard without regret the widespread disappointment which Dadabhai's defeat has caused amongst his friends in this country. He was the exponent of opinions with which we are seldom in accord, for he looked at the British administration of India from a standpoint at which no one who dispassionately considered the requirements and the capabilities of the country could place himself. But we do not think that he ever seemed to his most resolute opponents as other than a straightforward, sincere and disinterested champion of the views he had adopted.

Since he left India in 1887, Mr. Naoroji continued to stay in England till 1906 having practically made that country his 'home,' and was with his usual persistence working for the country of his birth. In 1896 he opened correspondence * with the War Office and the Admiralty regarding the exclusion of natives of India from examinations for admission to the Army and the Navy, and though he did not succeed in getting either of these bodies to remove the exclusion, he was able to show that the rules on which it was based were contrary to the Queen's Proclamations of 1858 and 1887. In 1897 he gave evidence,† as already stated, before the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure.

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* Refer to "Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji."

† Vide *appendix*, "Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji."

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THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE.

In 1898 he prepared and submitted two instructive statements to the Indian Currency Committee, which sat under the presidency of Sir Henry Fowler, to consider the question of the then proposed gold currency for India. The views set forth in these statements are summarised in the following extract from a letter of Mr. Naoroji published in the *London Times* of June 3, 1898:—

1. Fall or rise in exchange does not in itself (other circumstances being the same) matter in true international trade, which adjusts itself automatically to the requirements of exchange. I would illustrate this. I desire, for instance, to lay out £1,000 for sending a quantity of piecegoods to India. I calculate the price of the manufacturer, exchange, whatever it may be, 1s., 2s., or 3s. per rupee, freight, insurance, commission, etc., and see whether the price in India would pay me a fair profit. If I think it would, I enter into the transaction, sell my bill to an East India bank, and take the usual commercial chances of supply, etc., when the goods arrive in India. I give this illustration in its simplest form of the general character of commercial transactions between this country and India. There are variations of the methods of these transactions, but into them I do not enter at present to avoid confusion. The main principle is the same.

2. Closing the mints or introducing a gold standard does not, and cannot, save a single farthing to the Indian tax-payers in their remittances for "Home Charges" to this country. The reason is simple. Suppose we take, roundly, £20,000,000 sterling in gold to be the amount of the "Home Charges." The Indian tax-payers have to send as much produce to this country as is necessary to buy £20,000,000 sterling not an ounce less, no matter whatever may be the rupee or whatever the standard—gold or silver—in India, England must receive £20,000,000 in gold.

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3. Closing of the mints and thereby raising the true rupee, worth at present about 11d. in gold, to a false rupee to be worth about 16d. in gold, is a covert exaction of 45 per cent. more taxation (besides producing other effects which I do not mention) from the Indian taxpayers. The reason is again simple. Suppose a ryot has to pay Rs. 10 for land-tax. This rupee means a fixed quantity of silver stamped with the mint stamp, and is truly worth at present only about 11d. of gold. By closing the mints this rupee is forced up the worth of 16d. of gold and the ryot is compelled to find this high-priced false rupee of 16d. of gold or, in other words, to sell 45 per cent. more of his produce to get this false rupee, the Government thus getting 45 per cent. more taxation than it is entitled to, even according to its own "despotic" legislation.

4. The introduction of a gold standard, while it will not save a single farthing or a single ounce of produce to the Indian taxpayer in his payment of "Home Charges," as explained above, will simply add more to his already existing grievous burdens and injure him in other ways (which I avoid mentioning here), to the extent of the heavy cost of the alteration.

I have thus put fourth four simple clear propositions. It is necessary for your other correspondents to consider whether these propositions are true or not. If once these fundamental issues or premises are settled, further discussion will have a sound basis to go upon. At present the whole controversy is based upon the assumption that closing of mints or introduction of a gold standard will produce to the Indian taxpayers an enormous saving in their remittances for "Home charges." This, I say, is a mere fiction of the imagination and an unfortunate delusion.

PUBLICATION OF HIS BOOK.

In 1902 Mr. Naoroji published his famous book with the significant title of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.* The Book consists of a selection from his papers,

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contributions to periodicals, statements before Commissions and Committees, correspondence with official bodies on Indian questions. It may, perhaps, be regretted that Mr. Naoroji did not adopt the better method of revising these and stating his case in a compact essay with the necessary evidence and authorities. In its present form the book is much too expansive to be read through except by a few; but perhaps Mr. Naoroji's advancing age was prohibitory against undertaking that laborious task.* In any case, the book is a solid contribution to the literature on Indian questions, and is a storehouse of information on Indian Economics. Throughout its pages one finds Mr. Naoroji persistently making out that the great and gradually increasing poverty of India is due to the enormous annual drain of 30 millions sterling (more or less in the form of exports of produce) from the country, *without a pie of return*, that the present system of British administration involves, and that this can be remedied only by the substitution of Indians for the very large, and costly staff of Europeans now employed in the country, and by the exploitation of the country's resources by sons of the soil alone.

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*An exhaustive and comprehensive collection of the "Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji" have been published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

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THE BURDEN OF THE BOOK.

The following statement made by him some years ago to the representative of a Paris journal, who interviewed him, may be regarded as summarising the political views contained in this book:—

The relations between England and India latterly have been most unhappy and most disastrous, particularly with regard to India's economic and material condition. On one side, one of the important advantages conferred on India by England is English education; the Indians are profoundly grateful to England for this fact—but in spite of other concessions of less importance the disadvantages greatly surpass the benefits conferred. At the very outset of the association of England with India, corruption and oppression were the principal characteristics of the rule and of the system which was adopted. When little by little this cyncial corruption ceased, the system, nevertheless, was such that a considerable part of the public wealth of India was transferred from India to England. This calamity has not ceased to manifest itself to this day. What at first was only a tribute of one or two millions has become in the course of the last 150 years an annual drain of 30 million pounds sterling, that is to say, a sum which no other country in the world could pay without being utterly impoverished and completely ruined. The evils from which the Indians suffer are made up of the following elements. To begin with, England, by pure despotism, carries off annually two hundred millions of rupees for payment under the head of salaries for Government officials, so that the wealth produced by the work of the people, so far from supplying their own needs, becomes the prey of men who are, so far as they are concerned, mere foreigners. Besides the loss of the wealth of their country the people are, in addition, excluded from public office in their own native land. All the important positions are, so to speak, inaccessible to them. Thus the Indians, as a

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result of this rapacious system, suffer the two-fold loss of wealth and of work. This system may be regarded as an incessant and unceasingly growing waste, due to foreign invasion. At this very time there are thousands who have been sent to India to get wealth from it, and all these people will return to their homes with what they take from the country. This increasing invasion of the Indians by the English has had for its result the increasing impoverishment of the mass of the Indian people. Consequently, millions of men perish by famine and epidemic disease, and a still larger number are insufficiently fed by reason of their poverty. Famines in India are not due to scarcity of food; they are due to lack of money, so little have the wretched Indians to live upon. The British system of administration further aggravates this disastrous result. The wealth drained from India returns to India in the form of British capital; but a much larger sum is taken away than that which comes back. This so-called British capital exploits afresh the mineral and vegetable resources of India, gold, coal, iron and other products; so that by this means under the form of profits, still more wealth is taken from the country. Altogether, if one includes the two hundred million rupees which the British Government begins by taking for the salaries and pensions of English Government officials as well as the profits from the exploitation of gold, coal and iron, the total sum carried away by England from India amounts every year to thirty millions, a wastage so large and so ruinous that India finds herself reduced to the most extreme misery. All the former invasions taken together have not produced havoc comparable to that which the English subject us to in two or three years. In addition to this unmerciful drain which it inflicts on India, the British Government has further dealt with her in a humiliating manner. England has not wholly fulfilled one of her promises, nor one of her solemn proclamations by which she undertook to treat the Indians as British subjects without knowing difference of race or of colour. To-day, after the most formal undertakings, England has not granted to the Indian the elementary right, known to all English citizens, of taxation by

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consent and of controlling expenditure. It is a system of pure despotism where taxation, like expenditure, is wholly at the discretion of our masters. The people are treated as slaves, and what is worse is that our masters are not of our country ; the damage is all the greater, because when plunder is taken by men of the same country, the wealth remains at any rate in the country, and whatever may be the character of such a Government, the people profit by it at least to a certain extent. The most disastrous feature of British rule in India is that all that is wrested from India is definitely lost to its inhabitants, and consequently, the ills that England imposes on India are of the gravest possible kind. Macaulay was right when he said: 'The heaviest yoke is that of the stranger,' English statesmen themselves have often declared that this evil system produces terrible consequences for England herself. The English system so much praised, and (they say) so successful is really, therefore, a system of bleeding, and also a system of political insincerity, as Lord Salisbury himself has confessed.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS BRITISH RULE.

The following extracts from the introduction to Mr. Dadabhai's famous book deserve particular notice :—

The title of the book is *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, *i.e.*, the present system of Government is destructive and despotic to the Indians and un-British and suicidal to Britain. On the other hand, a truly British course can and will certainly be vastly beneficent both to Britain and India.

True British rule will vastly benefit both Britain and India. My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British people, that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonorable un-British system of Government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent inconceivable at present if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instincts of fair play and justice, and will insist upon the 'faithful and conscientious

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fulfilment' of all their great and solemn promises and pledges.

Mr. John Bright has truly said: 'The good of England must come through the channels of the good of India. There are but two modes of gaining anything by our connexion with India. The one is by plundering the people of India, and the other by trading with them. I prefer to do it by trading with them. But in order that England may become rich, by trading with India, India itself must become rich. Cannot British authorities see their way to such intelligent selfishness?

CONGRESS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

In 1905 Mr. Naoroji attended the International Congress of Social Democrats held at Amsterdam as the representative of India. At this Congress Mr. Naoroji spoke on the resolution condemning the present system of British Government in India and produced a remarkable impression. In the words of one who was there, "Mr. Naoroji, notwithstanding his eighty years, displayed throughout the Congress, a vigour of mind and body which men 30 years his junior might have envied.. . . His voice rang clear and resonant from one end of the hall to the other. Never was there the slightest hesitation or weakness from first to last, as he laid the case for India calmly, moderately, with relentless logic."

APPRECIATIONS.

Of Mr. Naoroji's activity since 1901 till he returned to India to preside over the Calcutta Congress in 1906 little more need be said than that, as in all the years before, he had been

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indefatigably and uninterruptedly working for his country's cause, addressing meetings and writing to periodicals on Indian questions. We need not refer to his keen disappointment at the defeat he sustained at the General Election in the year—to re-enter the House of Commons and serve his country there. India owes a great deal to him already, and, if for nothing else, she ought to be grateful to him for his persistent efforts to persuade the people of England and even opitimistic Viceroys and Secretaries of State to admit the great poverty of India. These efforts are beginning slowly to bear fruit and we have no doubt that, when the India of the future is completely moulded and shaped, Mr. Naoroji's share in the work will be found to have been quite invaluable. His work was throughout unselfish, incessant and unostentatious. The main spring of all his labours was his great faith in British justice, and though he was now and again found fault with for the vehemence of his language, there is not the faintest trace of *lese majeste* in his writings or speeches. On the other hand, as the late Mr. Justice Ranade said, the basis on which Mr. Naoroji always laboured was "that the people of his country should come to regard the existence and continuance of British dominion in this part of Asia to be an unquestionable fact."

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Mr. Naoroji was in fact as Mr. Gokhale described him, "one of the greatest men in the world" or, as an old Bombay journalist of experience and knowledge said, "one in a million;" and if he had sometimes used bitter language, it was because the situation required it. With "its sweet purity, its simplicity, its lofty patriotism, its abounding love, its strenuous pursuit of high aims," Mr. Naoroji's life was one which every Indian might well try to follow. It was throughout a life of strenuous energy, sacrifice for the Motherland for over sixty years, and "if only our young men will realise this in their lives, even partially, however dark the outlook at times may appear, the future is bound to be full of hope."

THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS.

Never was the outlook in India darker or more depressing than at the close of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. The volume of indignation against the high-handedness of the Bureaucracy was gathering in strength, as each succeeding year witnessed fresh troubles more dire and dangerous still. While the country was generally grateful to Lord Minto for his sympathetic handling of Indian aspirations, a sullen and resentful spirit was already in the air which gathered momentum with each piece of repressive legislation. A body of well-meaning but high spirited men who had lost faith

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in the beneficent intentions of the British Raj openly denounced the policy of what they called "mendicancy," which the elder men of the Congress were supposed to follow. Distrusting the good intentions of the Government, they repudiated equally the apostles of constitutional agitation on time-honoured lines, and questioned the very utility of the Congress organisation as it was conducted. The house was thus divided against itself, and every ill-conceived action of the bureaucracy added to the strength of the new party; and the moderates, helpless, reviled and misunderstood, remained at the parting of ways trying to reconcile those who seemed irreconcilable. At such a crisis who could save the country from its paroxysm of despair? Who could assuage the angry passions of the people at such a juncture? It was indeed an act of foresight which invited Mr. Dadabhai to preside over the Calcutta Congress in December 1906. As the well-informed writer of "Current Events" pointed out in the succeeding January (1907) number of the *Indian Review*:—

The Presidentship of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as was anticipated, smoothed all differences of opinion. His firmness, combined with his tolerance for all shades of opinion, and his great suavity, contributed largely towards a satisfactory solution of the differences. No doubt, with a Congress reflecting a variety of opinions on subjects of a controversial character, perfect unanimity was not expected. But the sweet reason-

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ableness of the President had its reflex influence on the conflicting parties. A spirit of compromise actuated them to settle their differences and arrive at a fairly good solution of the Boycott Resolution, which was the only one on which so many words were wasted and on which so much of passion and prejudice were absurdly aroused. However, those who had striven their utmost outside the camp of the Congress to see it wrecked were greatly disconcerted. The Congress session closed both in peace and harmony, instead of in splits and dissensions as was so wistfully looked for by its non-friends and adversaries. It was in reality a great success. If a section of the delegates differed, they differed to agree, and, what is more, to unite in greater strength to work out the national salvation than before. The President imparted to them all his own undying spirit of perseverance and patience. He adjured them never to despair. Having himself refused to despair and to hope against all odds, he asked the delegates to be of good cheer. . . . The time he said was not one of despair, but of patience, preseverance and united agitation coupled with hopefulness. Thus, under the inspiriting and encouraging words of the venerable President, the Congress rose equal to the occasion and may now be said to be every way stronger and more fortified than ever for purposes of constitutional agitation, and the realisation of the legitimate ambitions and aspirations of the country. . . . Peace and unity have been restored, and Heaven favouring her cause, India and her people are bound to obtain within a measurable distance further privileges and rights as free citizens of freedom-loving Great Britain. At the call of duty Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji came here. That he discharged that duty nobly and most satisfactorily goes without saying. India rejoiced in his advent and bade him a cordial and enthusiastic reception unparalleled in her annals.

Mr. Dadabhai's Presidential Address was marked by the sweet reasonableness so characteristic of all his utterances. The grand old

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man, weighed down with half a century of service to the Motherland, pleaded for union and brought hope to the country. With the wisdom and experience gathered at home and abroad, he made the "most resonant and the most determined demand for Self-Government," which has since become the watchword of the Indian nation. Never was a leader more inspired with true knowledge of his countrymen than when Dadabhai pronounced, in clear and unmistakable accents, the ideal which his countrymen should set before themselves. Mr. Naoroji confined his address primarily to the consideration of India's position in the Empire and the right of Indians for equal citizenship under the ægis of the British Crown. He had abundant faith in the Liberalism of Lord Morley and his school and little doubted its capacity to justify itself in the solution of the Indian problem. Quoting a number of Liberal declarations in regard to the position of British Indian citizenship from Proclamations, Acts of Parliament and the utterances of responsible ministers, he concluded his luminous address with the great call :—

I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me, and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen I say, be united, persevere, and achieve self-government so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plagues, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty

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subsistence may be saved, and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and most civilized nations of the world.

How earnestly and devotedly his countrymen have followed his great appeal is a matter of recent history.

CONGRESS AND BIRTHDAY MESSAGES.

During the last twelve years of his life Mr. Dadabhai, old and feeble in health, but with a mind and will unimpaired by the infirmity of age, was living in seclusion in his delightful home at Versova, nursed by his devoted grand-daughters. Keenly interested as ever in contemporary happenings, though unable to participate directly in all the manifold activities of the times, Mr. Naoroji confined himself to giving advice to his countrymen from time to time on matters of high concern. Groups of Indian patriots nurtured under his sympathetic guidance now and again made "pilgrimages" to his "abode" to receive the blessings of the great patriarch. Pure of heart and gentle in demeanour, the grand old man helped to harmonise differences and enthuse his fellow-countrymen to ever-increasing devotion to the Motherland. Year after year his message to the Congress had been a welcome feature of that institution: and the Congress in turn had been passing congratulatory resolutions on his sturdy and indefatigable labours on behalf of

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his countrymen. But no announcement was more gratifying than the annual birthday messages of Dadabhai Naoroji in response to the numerous congratulations, that poured from all parts of the Empire on the fourth of September. These messages generally dealt with the leading events of the year, and a word of exhortation from the great leader often inspired the most halting amongst the ranks to acts of service and sacrifice. Dadabhai felt justified in his abiding faith in British liberalism by the successful launching of Lord Morley's Reforms, and rejoiced that his own hopes were not mere dupes and that Self-Government for India was "broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent." Touching the memorable visit of their Imperial Majesties to Delhi, in December 1911, Mr. Dadabhai wrote on his 88th birthday an inspiring messages of hope and confidence in the British Raj.

The next year's message dealt with the dastardly outrage on Lord Hardinge, the appointment of the Public Services Commission, and an appreciation of the work of the Servants of India Society and the munificent gifts of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh and Sir Tarakanath Palit to the Calcutta University. Touching the position of our countrymen in South Africa, he pointed out :—

Once again the situation of our countrymen in the

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colonies and particularly in South Africa stirs us with deep emotion. They have suffered long and suffered such and have so borne their misfortune as to entitle them to the better regard and protection of His Majesty's Government. I have viewed, with deep concern, the indifference of the Imperial Government in regard to the recent Act in South Africa. But I still hope for justice and action.

THE WAR AND MR. NAOROJI'S MESSAGE.

On the outbreak of the great war in Europe, in August 1914, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as the acknowledged leader of the Indian nation, addressed a letter to the Indian public pointing out the supreme duty of his countrymen at such a crisis. After an expression of sympathy in the sad bereavement of His Excellency the Viceroy, caused by the death of Lady Hardinge, the venerable patriarch continued :—

What calamity to the world is at present happening? War in Europe. What is an Indian's place in it? We are a people of the British Empire. Let us see what our duty and position are. If ever India expects to attain again the former glory on the advanced character and scale of the modern British civilisation of liberty, humanity, justice and all that is good, great and divine, it shall be at the hands of the British people and as self-governing members of the British Empire. We are all British citizens of the great British Empire and that is at present our greatest pride. * * *

I have all my life been more of a critic than a simple praiser of the British Rule in India, and I have not hesitated to say some hard things at times. I can, therefore, speak with the most perfect candour and sincerity what the British character is, what the civilisation of the world owes to the British people for

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benefits in the past, as well as for benefits to come. Yes, I have not the least doubt in my mind that every individual of the vast mass of humanity of India will have but one desire in his heart, *viz.*, to support to the best of his ability and power the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour and true humane greatness and happiness.

The Princes and the peoples of India have made already spontaneous efforts and until the victorious end of this great struggle, no other thought than that of supporting whole-heartedly the British Nation should enter the mind of India.

The 91st birthday of Dadabhai Naoroji was celebrated with befitting enthusiasm all over India. Among the countless messages that were pouring in at Versova, on the morning of Saturday the 4th September 1915, was one from His Excellency Lord Hardinge who wired :—

I send you warm congratulations and heartiest good wishes on your 91st birthday, and hope that your life may be prolonged for many years as a bright and enduring example to others.

Mr. Naoroji sent the following reply :—

I am deeply touched with your warm congratulations and heartiest good wishes on my 91st birthday, and thank you sincerely and heartily for the same. I hope this world's strife will terminate soon and successfully. I am sure that India will continue its devotion and loyalty to our Sovereign and will receive justice and equality of citizenship with other parts of the Empire.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay also sent a congratulatory message. In reply to the numerous greetings from the Press and

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platform, Mr. Naoroji sent the following epistle :—

I have been overwhelmed with congratulations and good wishes from friends and admirers in various parts, and I take this opportunity to thank them most heartily, as also all the numerous public bodies who held congratulatory meetings in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other centres in connection with my 91st birthday.

Times are critical and it behoves every unit of the vast population under British rule in India to give every loyal assistance in order that Victory, to the arms of the Allies who are fighting the battle of freedom and in the cause of humanity, may be assured at an early date.

England by her undaunted courage and unity of action has maintained her place among the nations, and has set an example to the world, and all India must feel, as I do feel, intense satisfaction for her ultimate success in the near future.

There was, besides, a special feature in regard to the latest birthday greetings. A deputation of ladies of Bombay waited upon Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at his residence on the morning of the 4th September. The deputation was a fairly representative one, consisting of Hindu, Moslem and Parsi ladies. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the gifted poetess from Hyderabad, addressed the G. O. M. in a graceful speech. Mrs. Jamnabhai Sakhai, of the Gujarati Streemandal, read an address congratulating Mr. Dadabhai on the auspicious event. In the course of his reply, Mr. Naoroji touched appropriately on the memorial to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Austen Chamberlain on the

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education of the girls and the women of India, and observed:—

I am glad my good friend Sir William Wedderburn and many others are presenting a memorial to Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, on the subject of the education of girls and women in India. Let India support this movement whole-heartedly and I have great hopes that something substantial will be done to accelerate the progress of female education in India. Let the result of this be what it may; it is we, the people of India, who must do all what we can for this all-important matter.

In fact, Mr. Naoroji's tender and loyal championship of women and women's education is but one aspect of a life of what Mrs. Sarojini Naidu so aptly called, "one long and noble consecration to the Motherland."

MR. DADABHAI'S LIBRARY.

Soon after this, Mr. Naoroji made a valuable gift of his library to the Bombay Presidency Association. The books included cupboards full of Hansards' volumes for over one hundred years. There were also full reports of all the proceedings of Parliamentary Committees and Select Committees relating to India during the past hundred years. Mr. Naoroji's avidity for figures and statistics is well-known, and it was his desire in presenting the volumes to the public to create the same interest for the statistical information and accurate knowledge of all questions, among the rising generation of political workers in this country.

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THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

In an earlier part of the sketch we have referred to Mr. Dadabhai's educational efforts on behalf of his countrymen. Himself the flower of English education, Mr. Naoroji was all his life the champion of a wider diffusion of education among the masses of the Indian people. His journalistic and political services in England and India, and his great educational work in the early stage of his career in Bombay alike point to the value he attached to this aspect of his labours. In February, 1916, when he was past four score and ten, the Bombay University appropriately conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at a special Convocation of the University, presided over by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, as Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, in presenting Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to the Chancellor, made a speech in which he warmly recounted Mr. Dadabhai's claims to the distinction. Never was a University more honoured than by the admission of such a distinguished alumnus to the roll of its savants.

In the evening of his life, he had the satisfaction to see that some of the reforms for which he yearned were nearing accomplishment, and he continued to exhort his countrymen to put their faith in the liberty-loving instincts of the British people and their innate sense of

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justice. In his seclusion at Versova he continued to follow the trend of political and social events in India with intense zest, and he was in constant touch with leading public men who visited him in his place from time to time.

MR. DADABHAI'S COLLEAGUES.

Mr. Dadabhai, in his ripe old age of ninety-two, lived in complete retirement at Versova. Only once in his last twelve years did he come to Bombay to receive the tribute of the University. The serene satisfaction of one's duty well done was his, as well as the wealth of peace and good cheer that accompanies such a noble life. But the Gods are jealous and the penalty of longevity is inexorable. It was at once pathetic and uplifting to see the patriarch resignedly bowing to the will of Heaven. Those that had laboured with him, and shared the pains as well as the joys of his struggles throughout a life-time were dropping one by one like the leaves of the autumn. His colleagues in England (notably his lifelong friend and fellow worker in India, Sir William Wedderburn, kept up a constant correspondence with him. But the death of A. O. Hume—his staunchest friend on the British Congress Committee, made him feel solitary. He bore it with fortitude. Here, in India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sir

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Pherozesha Mehta had gone to their last resting-place, and before them a galaxy of Congressmen of an earlier generation, who had served him as his Lieutenants and followers. His own end was nearing and he was looking forward to it with meek resignation. On the morning of June 1, 1917, a painful message that he was dangerously ill cast a gloom all over the country. But a later telegram in the afternoon gave the country the glad news that he was out of danger. But life at ninety-three is at best precarious and Dadabhai's countrymen had to prepare themselves for the inevitable. Dadabhai was removed on the 2nd June to Bombay for securing the best medical advice and treatment which, however, proved of no avail. And the end was feared at any moment. He was fast losing strength and he passed away peacefully on the evening of June 30. He died in the bosom of his family, surrounded by his daughters and grand children. He retained full consciousness until the last half an hour of his life, and we are told that his death was quite painless, his features retaining their saintly look even after death.

Suffering from extreme weakness, he could talk very little during the last four days of his illness, but even on his deathbed he showed his deep and abiding interest in public affairs by insisting upon being kept informed of important happenings in the world, and specially in his own country which he so passionately

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loved. His son-in-law, Mr. Dadina, and his grandchildren read out to him the most important news from the papers. He heard with visible emotion the news of the death of his old friend Sir George Birdwood.

The funeral took place the next day when impressive scenes were witnessed at the Palitana House where Dr. Naoroji passed the last few days of his life and at the Towers of Silence, where his body found its last resting place. Over fifteen thousand people, of all nationalities, followed the procession to the Tower, and among the leading members of different communities were Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Sir Dinsha Wacha, Sir Shapurji Broacha, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Jinnah and others. When the funeral party was returning from the Tower, Sir Narayan, asked to say a few words, paid the last tribute to the memory of the departed. He said in the course of his speech :—

It is no exaggeration to say, it is not marring the beauty of the religion to say that he was a second Zoroaster sent to India to make the sun of righteousness and of India's future progress shine more and more by means of our pure thoughts, our pure speech and our pure deeds. Countrymen, not only the Parsis, but men of all races regarded Dadabhai as their own. He went into the bosom of us all. His death is the greatest loss to us at the present time. And yet he is not dead. The sun, that shone just ninety-three years ago over India, is set, but, I say, it is set to rise again in the form of regenerated India,

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for Dadabhai lived and worked for us with a self-devotion which must remain for all of us an inspiring example. Let us, therefore, before we depart, pledge ourselves that we will live, by the light of his example, pure in all that we do, sacrificing ourselves for the sake of India, full of devotion and that marvellous patience which was the best adornment of Dadabhai's great and sacred and worshipful life.

The residence of Dr. Naoroji was flooded with letters and telegrams and the following letter addressed to Sir Dinshaw Wacha by H. E. Lord Wellingdon, then Governor of Bombay, may here be transcribed :—

"Would you convey my deepest sympathy with the family, and would you further inform them that it has been a matter of a very great concern to me that I had no representative at the funeral, for I was most anxious to pay my last tribute of respect as Governor to our great citizen, but I heard nothing of Mr. Dadabhai's death till Sunday afternoon, and then it was too late."

Public bodies all over the country recorded their appreciation of the great services Dadabhai had rendered to the country. The Bombay Presidency Association at the instance of Sir Dinshaw Wacha made the following comment on his seventy years of strenuous public life :—

By universal consent, he has been acclaimed as the Father of Indian Politics and economics and also the ideal of "Swaraj" or Self-Government for India within the Empire. He actively instilled in his countrymen, by force of his own sublime example, the spirit of patriotism pure and undefiled and distinguished himself as an ideal patriot who was loved and revered throughout his life by his countrymen.

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Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was a unique personality, a power and an influence for good, a man of unexampled courage and perseverance, of great simplicity, of spotless life, of good words, good thoughts and good deeds, a stern devotee of duty and a loyal and faithful subject of his Majesty. As such, he will be an inspiration to his countrymen for all times and generations to come.

Mr. Surendranath Banerjee unveiled a portrait of Dadabhai at the University Hall, Bombay. Numerous reading rooms and clubs were started to perpetuate his illustrious name. The Parsees themselves canonised his name as one fit to adorn the Zoroastrian Calendar. Indeed such a life as his is full of lessons for us. Let us then

" . . . . remember all
He spoke among us; and the Man who spoke;
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with eternal God for power;
Who let the turbid streams of rumour flow
Thro' either babbling world of high and low;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life;
Who never spoke against a foe;
Whose ninety winters freeze with one rebuke
All great self-seekers trampling on the right."

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